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vulgar sense, or as a common jewel-box, but as a *Gospel-casket*, a precious receptacle for a precious portion of the Word of God. Besides the well-known import of certain articles from Gaul, even from the Roman period, there were two streams of Christianization and civilization at this time flowing into England, especially into Northern England, the one—perhaps the fullest and mightiest—from the Gaelic missions of Ireland, both direct and over Scotland, and this Irish civilization was then the highest in Europe, the Roman only excepted; the other Italian, directly or indirectly from Rome chiefly. Both met in the seventh century in Northumberland. Nethii's casket is a specimen of Gallic or Gaelic culture; the fine Runic pillars at Bewcastle and Ruthwell, are instances of the Roman, for their ornamentation is evidently Roman and Roman-ara-besque. But the Bewcastle cross is also richly decorated in the style of the Kelts and the Northmen, the king over whom it was raised being a Northman on the father's side, but a Kelt on the mother's.

Of course all this depends on the interpretation of the runes. If this be correct, there can be little doubt that Æli was Eligius, and the shrine is then of the seventh century—at which time there was still a Gaul. But if a better reading can be found, and Æli and Montpellier and Gaul disappear, then of course the casket may have a much later date, and all my “ingenious combinations” will disappear, and “leave not a rack behind.”

ANONYMOUS ACCOUNT OF THE EARLY LIFE AND MARRIAGE OF JAMES, FIRST DUKE OF ORMONDE.

EDITED BY THE REV. JAMES GRAVES, A. B., M. R. I. A.

AT the head of the transcript from which the following relation is printed, I find a memorandum made by myself at the time. The note given below¹ contains all that I had then, or since, been able to discover concerning the MS., now for the first time published. That there is, or was, an authentic original in existence cannot be fairly questioned, and I think it probable that it may yet be found

¹ The memorandum referred to above is as follows:—“Copied by Lord James W. Butler, from a manuscript, author unknown, given to the Marquess of Ormonde (Lord James' father), by the Earl of Clancarty, at Bruxelles, in the year

1822. This manuscript is not now forthcoming; and the following transcript is made from the copy above alluded to. August, 1850, J. Graves.” At the end of my transcript I find, “Copia vera fact' et exaīat' per me, J. G., October 1, 1850.”

amongst the MSS. transferred from the Irish College at Louvain to the Burgundian Library at Bruxelles. From internal evidence it is certain that the writer threw his facts and anecdotes into form after the death of his hero, the first Duke of Ormonde; and the many years over which that nobleman's eventful life extended will account for a few mistakes and inaccuracies, whilst the curious particulars, from which the chief value of the relation is derived, bear a look of *vraisemblance*, which leads one to think that they were learned from the gossip of some old and tried follower of the House of Ormonde, who, having stood by its fortunes in adversity, gratefully remembered the benefits derived from its prosperity. The prophecy scene, which we may reasonably suppose took place in the great hall of Carrick Castle, could only have been described by an eye-witness. In that hall the carved stone mantelpieces, oak-pannelled walls, the richly moulded ceiling ornamented with the arms of England and of Ormonde, the intermingled initials of E. R. and T. O., and the portrait of the Queen between the figures of Justice and Mercy, still attest the pride with which its builder, Thomas, Earl of Ormonde, commingled the evidences of the glory of his ancient house with the unalterable favour shown him by his Royal Mistress and kinswoman.¹

The best laid plans of the most sage and foreseeing are often, by the all-wise Ruler of the universe, converted into chastisements to themselves or their posterity, and there cannot be found a more striking example of this great truth than the facts succinctly told

¹ The noble pile of Carrick Castle consists at present of the remains of a base-court facing the Suir, protected at the land side by two tall Edwardian towers, rising grandly over a many-gabled Elizabethan mansion added in more peaceful times by Thomas, the tenth Earl of Ormonde. Altogether I do not know of any Irish baronial residence so interesting from its existing remains and historic memories as this home of the Butlers, and it is sad to see its oriels and mullioned windows open to the winds, and its richly moulded plaster ceilings and oaken wainscots falling gradually to decay. I trust these lines may call to the mind of the present noble representative of the House of Ormonde her expressed intention of making Carrick Castle, at least, "stiff and staunch" against the weather. If its stout oak roof is kept in order, many generations to come will see this building, so deftly ornamented by the cunning hand of the carver and the artist in plaster, a standing testimony to the ancient glory of the Ormondes. If any of my readers want to get properly

wrought up to the frame of mind in which a ghost story should be read or written, I would recommend them to await a stormy autumn twilight, within these old walls. I well remember one such afternoon; and have a vivid recollection of the creaking doors, and hollow sighing of the winds along the darkened passages. There are, however, no troubled ghosts to haunt the castle. The old crone who was then its caretaker seemed indignant at the supposition; but she confided to us her belief, that the castle had its tutelary fairy, "Leather Apron" by name, not often seen now, but whose self-imposed office ("in the good ould times, when there was lashins and lavins in the Castle, and no end of sarvants as well as quality," in the halls and kitchens), it was to see that the serving men and maidens did their duty, under the penalty of a sound thrashing inflicted by means of the *leather apron* that gave his peculiar name to the "Clurichaun" in question, who, from his habiliments, must have belonged to the cordwainer class "of the good people."

by the writer of this relation. Thomas, Earl of Ormonde, in accordance with his duty to Elizabeth, and the long-trying loyalty of his race, was the chief instrument in crushing the rebellion of the Desmond Geraldines. But when the head of the Earl of Desmond, miserably slain in his wretched hiding place amongst the woods of Glanaginty, was placed in his hands, he went still farther, and claimed from the Queen (contrary to the established Irish usage as to heirs general,) the Earldom and its broad lands, not alone as the reward of his own loyalty, but in right of his mother, Joan of Desmond, whose arms he quartered on his shield. He did not obtain what he desired, but his claim suggested to James I. the bestowal of Earl Thomas's only daughter in marriage on one of his Scotch favourites whom he raised to the Earldom of Desmond; and when Ormonde lay in his grave, and his rightful heir, Sir Walter Butler, claimed his inheritance, Earl Thomas's unjust grasping after the Desmond lands and Earldom rose up in judgment against the House of Ormonde and its heir general would assuredly have carried away the broad lands of that Earldom into another family, had not Sir Walter's grandson succeeded in making the politic, as well as romantic, marriage described in this manuscript; which is now submitted to the Society without further preface, except to say that the present seems a fitting time to commit it to print, inasmuch as the interest created by Lady Rachel Butler's tale of "The Prophecy" is fresh in the minds of the reading public—the noble authoress having founded her plot in the narrative of this anonymous writer.

HISTORY OF FIRST DUKE OF ORMOND FROM A. D. 1614 TO 1649.

Thomas, Duogh or Duff, Earle of Ormond, having been blind¹ several years before his death, on yelast Christmas he kept,² invited most

¹ Thomas *Dubh*, or the Black, the tenth Earl, was believed by Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, to have been visited with blindness, by God, "in revenge" of his having advised Essex to march, in 1599, into Munster instead of into Ulster.—(Moryson, 2d Ed. p. i. 166.) In Lawlesse's MS. pedigree of the House of Ormonde, it is hinted that this calamity was a punishment for incontinence, the Earl having many illegitimate children. The Earl himself imputed it to overstraining in sea-sickness.—(Carte, i., lxxv.) This great nobleman was the most prominent personage in Ireland during Elizabeth's reign, and the publication of his letters would form a valuable accession to the history of the kingdom. He died November 22, 1614. Horace Walpole gives the following note, from

Vertue's MS. respecting the splendid tomb (see "History of Cathedral of St. Canice," page 138), which was erected to his memory, but was destroyed by Cromwellians:—"In June, 1614, I bargained with Sir Walter Butler, for to make a tomb for the Earl of Ormond, and to set it up in Ireland; for the which I had well paid me £100 in hand, and £300 more when the work was set up at Kilkenny."—Extracted from the pocketbook of Nicholas Stone, Statuary.

² The scene of this entertainment must have been Carrick Castle, for Carte ("Life of James, Duke of Ormonde," vol. i. p. 4), says that Earl Thomas "then lived generally at his seat of *Carrick* upon the Sure, in the county of *Tipperary*; and thither our young Lord was often carried, and could remember distinctly the

of his nearest relations to solemnise that festival wth him; & amongst the rest came S^r Walter Butler,¹ his 3^d brother, who then lived at Kilcash, his son, and his grandson, James Butler, ye late Duke of Ormonde, who was not then above 4 years old. The Table being full, and no room for younger James Butler to sit at it, he, being then a sprightly boy, entertained himself wth whipping his Gigg (a sort of top made out of the tip of a cows horn) in the Dining Room just behind the Earl of Ormond's chair; who hearing ye noise, asked his servant y^t attended him, who it was made y^e noise behind him. His Ser^t reply^d it was younger Jemmy Butler a whipping [*sic*] his Gigg. The Earl then asking again w^t Jemmy Butler it was, ye Ser^t. answr^d it was Jemmy Butler of Kilcash, S^r Walter Butlers grandson. The Earl then bid him bring Jemmy to him; and placing him between his knees stroaked his head, and fetching a deep sigh, said, "My Family shall be much oppressed and brought very low, but by this boy it shall be restored again, and in his time be in greater splendour than ever it has been." Upon which prophetic expression of the Earls the Lord Vis^{ct}. Tulloch² who then sat near him, & was his

old Earl's caressing him in his arms and upon his knees, and the several circumstances of his long beard, his being blind, and the wearing of his GEORGE about his neck, whether he sat up in his chair, or lay down upon his bed. This was one of the last satisfactions and amusements which that same famous Earl Thomas received in his life, for he died the year after the heir of his honours and family was brought into *Ireland*."

¹ Sir Walter Butler, of Kilcash, was not, as stated in the text, third brother to the tenth Earl, but, as stated by Carte (*Introduction* to "Life of James, Duke of Ormond," p. lxvi.), was eldest son to John, brother of the tenth Earl, and third son of Earl James. He was born in 1569, and, upon the death of the tenth Earl, in 1614, succeeded to the title; and, after enduring the persecution narrated in the text, died in 1632. His eldest son, Viscount Thurles, deceased in 1619, leaving "Jemmy," the future Duke, who was born either in 1607 or 1610. (Carte, vol. i., p. 3). If, as above stated, he was four years old at the time of the supposed prophecy, the year in which it occurred was either 1611, or 1614. In the latter year the tenth Earl made a settlement in favour of Sir Walter and his heirs male. As the Viscount the Tullogophelin, the "Lord Tulloch" of text, died in January, 1613 (Lodge's *Peerage*), the date of the prophecy may have been 1611.

² "Lord Vis^{ct}. Tulloch," viz. Theobald Butler, Viscount Tulloghphelim. A document, dated 1601, among the State Papers, sets forth "the Genealogy of the competitors for Ormond." It mentions "Piers Butler, of the house of Bolicke, Co. Tipperary," who "married Dame Margaret Fitzgerald," and "killed James Dowe" (*Dubh*) "Butler." This Piers was the eighth Earl of Ormond. Theobald, third son of Sir Edmond Butler (who was brother of Thomas, tenth Earl), is declared to have been "right heir, but for Sir Henry Sydney's backwardness in executing the Queen's commands to restore his blood." His father was attainted, in consequence of his rebellion against Sydney's arbitrary Star-chamber decision in favour of Sir Peter Carew's claim to part of Sir Edmond's estate. "Walter Butler, fifth brother of the Earl of Ormond, married the chieftayne of Owne Mulryan, his daughter." This territory was *Uaithne-Ui-Mhaoilriain*, or Owney, now Abington, in the county of Limerick. "John, fourth brother, married to O'Maghery, chieftayne of Dowogrye, Co. Tipperary." These two marriages are not mentioned in Carte's *Introduction*. Many other marriages, and some curious particulars as to illegitimate descendants of the family, are given in this document. It is also alleged that "the House of Butler of Yeghom, or Eyghom, (Nehom near Gowran), is the oldest;" and Theobald,

nephew and son-in-law [having married his only daughter (who was mother to the late Dutchess of Ormonde), and was to be his successor to the Earldom], being a very proud and conceited man, he in great indignation put back his chair and flang from the table, and in doing so making a great noise, y^e Earl ask'd his Ser^t. "who made y^e noise," to w^{ch} he reply'd that it was my Lord Tullogh, who in discontent had left the Table upon y^e discourse his Lord^{sh}. had made of Jemmy Butler. The Earl said, "He is a flower y^t will soon fade—and w^t I have said I am confident will prove true." And within a short space after, y^e L^d Tullogh dy'd without issue & before y^e Earl of Ormonde, and his widow soon after marryed [Richard] Preston L^d Dingwell, whom King James y^e 1st recommended by his Letter to y^e Lady's favour, and in order to it created him then Earl of Desmond. Soon after this marriage there happened a very high contest in law between Walter, then Earl of Ormonde, & y^e said Earl of Desmond, who having married y^e only child and heir generall of Tho^s. Duffe late Earl of Ormonde, pretended in her right to ye greatest part of ye antient and noble estate; Walter Earl of Ormond soon after y^e commencement of this Suit went into England to pay his duty to King James, by whom he was very graciously received, having served ye Crown very honorably and bravely in ye wars in Ireland during Queen Elizabeth's Reign, and in Tyrone's rebellion, which happened soon after King James' accession to ye Crown of Engl^d. But the Duke of Buckingham, looking with an envious eye on ye splendour & greatness of ye ancient and noble house of Ormond, and more particularly for their Palatinate of Tipperary; and observing ye Earl to be an easy man, told King James that he had now an opportunity to make his Kingdom of Ire^{ld}. secure & quiet, and free from those frequent rebellions, w^{ch} had disturbed y^e reign of his predecessors, and was occasioned by the antient and great Families of that Kingdom, who had large territories of land, and numerous relations and dependencies, instancing in ye Earl of Desmond, Tyrone, & Tyrconnel; & added that his Majestie had then an opportunity of so depressing the House of Ormond (which might prove as dangerous as any of the other three to y^e Governm^t.) that it should never hereafter be in a

third son of Sir Edmond, is recommended for the earldom. The entire deserves to be printed, with annotations from Carte, and other sources. Carte quotes a deed of remainder, dated 1601, in which the tenth Earl enjoins his nephew, Theobald, to marry his cousin, the Earl's daughter; and among the State Papers is a letter of thanks from the Earl to Queen Elizabeth, for her gracious consent to this match. Her Majesty's successor, however, on the death of the husband (the "Lord Tul-

logh" of the text) (Carte, lxiii.), bestowed the hand of the widow, as that of an heiress, on his groom of the bedchamber, Richard Preston, who consequently claimed nearly all her father's property, although customary law and family deeds entailed the estate on the primogenitural male heir, in order that it should accompany the Earldom or title. As to the claimants of the Earldom in 1600, and their eagerness to command the person of the Earl's only daughter, see "Journal," vol. iii., p. 403.

condition of raising disturbances in ye kingdom. The K. upon this asking him the means of doing it, he told his Majestie that if he could prevail on ye Earls of Ormond & Desmond to refer to himself the controversy w^{ch} was now between y^e s^d Earls concerning the Estate, the matter might be so contrived by his Majesties arbitration, as not only to weaken ye present power of the House of Ormond in Ireland, but also to divide the dependencies of ye Family, as well as the Estate, & by that means to secure ye better Interest of ye Family to a perpetual dependance on ye Crown: King James approving of ye Policy, very easily procur'd the reference to be made to him. For ye Earl of Desmond, being a favourite to ye Duke of Buckingham, in whose interest upon King James he knew himself secure, easily consented to what he was satisfied would be his greatest advantage. And ye Earl of Ormond, being of a generous and noble nature, and as little mistrusting ye King's Justice, as he did ye right of his title to ye Estate, very frankly and without hesitation concurred in ye reference and signed a bond¹ of 20,000 £. to stand to and abide by ye King's award. Hereupon his Majestie heard the cause solemnly argued by Council on both sides; and by the Duke of Buckingham's persuasions, adwarded the Castle of Kilkenny, the House of Dunmore, and the better half of the Estate to the Countess of Desmond and her heires, by which, the Earl of Ormond finding an inevitable ruin to himself and Family, chose rather to sacrifice himself by running ye risque of the penaltie of his bond, tho' he was convinced it would be prosecuted against [him] with all severity; than he w^d be ye instrument of ruining himself and his family by submitting to so destructive an adward: & accordingly he was committed to the Fleet, where some years after he dyed;² & while he was under confinem^t there, was under such hardships, that he had starv^d for want of meat, had he not been relieved by a charitable pension of five shillings p diem allow^d him by an old Servant, who in gratitude for his L^d'ships former bounty to him, streightened himself to support

¹ Carte makes no mention (Introduction, p. lxvii.), of this bond. There are several documents concerning this case among the Irish State Papers; one of them, a letter, dated 1622, written by Earl Walter, in the Fleet prison, wherein he states that his daughters, finding nothing but bonds, beggary, and misery, intend to leave him, and to live on the charity of others. And, in 1624, this unfortunate nobleman writes as to "Lord Desmond's practise to set up one Piers Lenan, as Earl of Ormonde, who was son of Rorie Lenan, of Galway, and Mrs. Mary Molloy, *alias* Butler." Enclosed is a paper of reasons for proving Piers to be an impostor. His mother

confessed that Lord Desmond sent to offer her £1000 a year, if she would acknowledge him to be a Butler, but she refused. Other particulars of pedigree are stated,

² This is a mistake. Carte (Introduction, p. lxvii.), says that he remained in prison for eight years after the death of James I., and, recovering his liberty in 1625, lived for some time in London, and removing afterwards into Ireland, died at Carrick Castle, February 24, 1632, and was buried in the Cathedral of St. Canice, Kilkenny. He was a Roman Catholic, and from his devotional tendencies he was called "Walter of the Beads and Rosaries."

his noble Benefactor. Uppon y^e Committall of ye Earl of Ormond, ye Earl of Desmond was dispatched away into Ireland with his Majesties adward & effectual orders to put him into quiet possession of y^t part of the Estate which was granted to his Lady by it. And much ab^t ye same, ye Lord Vis^{ct} Thurles eldest son of ye Earl of Ormond (& father to the late Duke of Ormond) returned also into Ireland to prosecute ye suit at law, & defend his Father's and his own Right as well as he could. When ye Earl of Desmond had peaceably settled himself in ye possession of ye lands decreed him, & had got together the rich furniture of his Father in law, Thos. Duffe, late E. of Orm^d, together with his plate (w^{ch} solely in those times was valued at 12,000£.), he repaired to Dublin, carrying his treasure and furniture thither with him in order to transport them and himself to his Lady in England, and ab^t the same time ye L^d Thurles repaired also to Dublin wth intention to go into England and render his father an acc^t of ye miserable & deplorable circumstances of his affairs. Thus these two Lords happened to embarque ye same day & in ye same Porte of Dublin, but in two several ships (for their animosities were too great to be contained in ye same vessel), but they both had ye same unfortunate fate, and were buried in ye same grave, they both suffering shipwreck by ye same storm, & not very far distant from one another on ye Coast of Carnarvonshire, where neither of their persons, or any of ye Earl of Desmonds riches, were ever found, but were all swallow'd up in ye same merciless & voracious gulfe.¹ After this fatal catastrophe, the Countess of Desmond wth

¹ This is a piece of romance. Lord Thurles, was drowned near the Skerries, as he was going for England, December 19, 1619.—(Carte, Introduction, p. lxxvii.) Preston, Earl of Desmond, survived him near nine years, being lost on his voyage to England, October 28, 1628. Archdall's "Lodge," vol. iv., p. 37. Thomas Butler, Viscount Thurles, married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Poyntz, of Acton, in Com. Gloucester, who after her first husband's death, married Charles Matthew, of Thurles, Esq., ancestor to the now extinct Earls of Llandaff. By the kindness of John P. Prendergast, Esq., I am enabled to place on record here some extracts from the Proceedings (preserved at Dublin Castle), of the Commonwealth Commission which sat at Mallow, to hear evidence in favour of those who sought to be excused from "Transplantation," on the ground of "Constant good affection" to the English government. Before this Commission it appears, by the following Orders in Council, that Lady Thurles was al-

lowed to be heard by special favour:—
"By His Highness the Lord Protector to his Councill, for the affairs of Ireland.

"20th July, 1656.

"Upon reading the humble address presented unto this Board by Sir Hardress Waller, Colonel Sankey, Colonel Phaire, and other chief officers of the army, in the behalf of Lady Thurles, desiring that, forasmuch as the said Lady hath neglected her opportunity for the making out of her qualification and claim before the Court sitting at Athlone, through misunderstanding of an Order granted her for a dispensation from Transplantation, that her case might be referred to the said Commissioners now sitting in the county of Cork, to the end she might make out before them her claim and qualification. And, upon consideration thereof, it is thereby ordered, pursuant to the said officers' desire, that it be referred to Mr. Justice Cook, William Halsey, and John Santhy, Esqrs., Commissioners appointed to adjudge of the

her only child (the Lady Elizabeth Preston), to humour her melancholy, liv'd retiredly in Berkshire; and the younger Lord Thurles, as ye King's Ward, was putt into ye hands of Doc^r George Abbot,

claims and qualifications of the Irish within the county of Cork, to take cognizance of the said petition, and of the said Lady's desires therein set forth: Who are hereby empowered to hear and determine the same according to Law (notwithstanding they are only limited to the Irish natives within the said county of Corke), and as formerly, in like cases of like nature. Dated at the Council Chamber, the 28th July, 1656.

"THOMAS HERBERT,
" *Clerk of the Council.*

"By the Lord Deputy and Council.

"Upon reading the report of the Court of Claims, to whom the hearing and determining of the claim of the Lady Viscountess Thurles to the Lordship of Thurles, and other lands in the county of Tipperary, was referred; setting forth that the claim of the said Lady to these lands is allowed, but the Decree not drawn up till the pleasure of this Board were known concerning her transplantation (she being a Popish Recusant), and her qualification determined. It is thought fit and ordered that the said Lady Thurles (in regard of her age), be dispensed with from transplantation, and that she be permitted to enjoy her estate as formerly till further order, and until her qualification under which she falls by the Act of Settlement be determined, whereof all persons whom it may concern are to take notice.

Dublin, 27th November, 1654.

"THOMAS HERBERT,
" *Clerk of the Council.*"

The following is the Commissioners' Letter to Lord Deputy and Council of the Commonwealth in Ireland, setting forth her Case:—

"By virtue of a reference from your Honours, bearing date the 28th day of July last, grounded upon a special application made to the Board by the Honourable Sir Hardress Waller, Colonel Sankey, and other officers of eminency in the army, in behalf of the Lady Viscountess of Thurles; the said Lady made claim before us to a constant good affection to the interest of the Commonwealth of England; and we having summoned Mr. Gunn, agent for the adventurers, affidavit was made of the service, and he

not appearing, we entered into the consideration thereof upon the 9th day of this month, and heard as well Council for the Commonwealth as the said Lady's Council: And upon full hearing of the said cause, it appeared to us by the testimony upon oath of divers English Protestant witnesses of good credit, that the said Lady did, several times, in the year 1641, harbour, entertayne, and preserve from murder and famine, divers English families whom the Irish had plundered and robbed, and attempted to murder, as particularly the said deponents and their families—Mr. Bullock and his family, Joane Harris, and her family, Mr. Price, a minister, and his family, and divers other persons and their families (particularly in the evidence named), to the number of three score persons. All which she hath at her own charge mayntayned in her house until the year 1643, when, in the time of cessation, some of them betook themselves to Dublin, and others to Cork; and for the accommodation of them in their journies were supplied by the Lady with monies, and other necessaries, and with such of them as repaired to Dublin, did send her letters of favour to her sonne, the Earle of Ormonde, in their behalfs.

"It likewise appeared that, in the said year, 1641, she did, from time to time, relieve and correspond with Major Henry Peisley and the English garrison he did command in the Castle of Archers-town, and also the English garrison in Beakstown; and the said Major Peisley being besieged by the Irish, and overcharged in his garrison by numbers of old men, women, and children, the said Lady gave him intimation she would make means for the private conveyance of them to her house, and there secure and maintain them. And that Major Peisley thankfully assenting thereunto, the said Lady employed some of her servants in that work, who brought safe from the said garrison to her house at Thurles the number of fourteen old men, women, and children, all or most of whom were continually mayntayned at he said Lady's charge in her house ever since. It likewise appeared as well by the testimony aforesaid, as by letters un-

Archbishop of Canterbury, for his education. The unfortunate Walter Earl of Ormond, worn out wth ye miseries of his confin^{mt}. much more broken by ye death of his son, had an end put to his miseries

der the hand of Sir Warham St. Leger, some time Lord President of Munster, that the said Lady kept continual correspondence with him after the irruption of the rebellion, and that he had a very tender esteem and regard for her, and looked on her as one of the English party. And that the said Lady did, by her words, expressions, and behavior, continually declare her detestation and abhorrence of the rebellion and rebels, and her affection for, and fellow feeling of the miseries and sufferings of the poor English.

"It appeared likewise, that Major Peisley being forced to yield his garrison to the rebels, and himself and others of his company being wounded and otherwise much spent out, and weakened, she invited him, his whole family, and company to her house, and entertained them for several weeks, until being well cured and refreshed, and being by her supplied with monies and other necessaries, they betook themselves to Done-raile, an English garrison. That Sir Charles Vavasour being wounded and taken prisoner by the rebels some time before the cessation, and imprisoned at Clonmel, the said Lady did often times send monies to him for his supply, and afterwards, he being sick and in a very weak condition in prison, the said Lady procured, with difficulty, liberty for him to come to her house, where care was taken for his cure, which being effected, she supplied him with monies and he departed. And that the said Lady did, in the years 1643, 1644, 1645, and 1646, lend many considerable sums of money for the relief of the English army, as particularly £300 at one time, and £500 at another, and divers other sums. It appeared also, that when Lord Inchiquin, with the English army he commanded before his defection, marched into the county of Tipperary, he looked upon the said Lady as English, and of English interest and affection, insomuch that he continually issued his order for the preservation of her, her tenants and interest. And that the Irish, for her aversion to their rebellion and horrid proceedings, looked upon her as their enemy, insomuch that they at several times pillaged and plundered her (viz.),

of 1500 sheep, threescore cows, and of great numbers of horses, mares, and colts; broke down her weares, and threatened to pull her house down about her ears, if she did not give up the poore English to their fury and crueltie, which she constantly and resolutely refused. That one Owen Roe O'Neill, with a great army marching by her house, and looking on her as an enemy, commanded from her 200 beeves, which she refused, and thereof gave advertisement to Lord Inchiquin, who came to her relief and repulsed O'Neill.

"That when His Highness sat before Fethard, in the county of Tipperary, Lieutenant Colonel Brian O'Neill, with about 1500 of the Irish army well appointed, came to the said Lady's town of Thurles, and desired admission with his party to garrison her house, which she refused, and immediately sent advertisement to His Highness thereof and prayed he would be pleased to send a garrison of his army. Whereupon Major Bolton, with a regiment of horse and foote, was immediately commanded away to her house. A certificate of Major Bolton was produced, declaring the same, as likewise that the said Lady was instrumental in the rendition of Cahir Castle, and that His Highness in consideration thereof had promised a gratification of her, which was seconded with such effectual certificates from Colonel Sankey, Major Greene, and Colonel William Moore, which we took as good argument, though not in evidence. Upon the whole matter we find her a very deserving person. And yether residence having been, during the rebellion, in the Irish quarters, and being obliged by our Commission, and by your Lordships said reference to proceed according to law, and not having adjudged a constant good affection to any whose constant residence have been in the Irish quarters during this rebellion, we do humbly present to your Lordships the state of the case, and difficulties thereupon, and submit in them to your Lordships, and remain your

"Faithful, humble Servants,

"JOHN COOKE, JOHN SANTHY,

"WILLIAM HALSEY.

"*Moyallo, 13th August, 1656.*"

& his life in ye Fleet. His Grandson, thereby Earl of Ormond, was carefully educated by ye Archbishop of Canterbury,¹ who conscientiously labour'd to instruct him in ye principles of ye Protestant Religion, in w^{ch} his Pious Endeavours had so good success, that his L^dship, thro' all ye Vicissitudes of fortune & traverses in ye Government^t, continued in it steadfast & unshaken to his Death.

The Countess of Desmond, after a few years solitary retirement in Berkshire, wasted wth melancholy, dyed in the country.² And her fair and rich daughter became by y^t means ye King's ward, and was granted to ye Earl of Holland, strictly guarded, and bred by the Countess of Holland, who, by her uncle, ye Duke of Buckingham's contrivance, designing to marry her to her Bro: Fielding, the more effectually to recommend him to ye young lady's Favour procured him to be created Earl of Desmond.

After ye deaths of Walter Earl of Ormond, his son L^d. Thurles, and ye Earl of Desmond, and during ye minorities of their children, the younger Earl of Orm^d and his cousin ye Lady Eliz: Preston, ye suit for ye estate was discontinued and laid asleep, they being both ye King's wards. But ye Archbp: of Canterbury being dead, & James E. of Orm^d grown up toward man's estate, being of very pregnant and forward parts, as he grew ripe in years, he was more capable of considering the unfortunate circumstances of his own condition; to remedy this, and rescue himself from y^t ruin w^{ch} was so long contrived agst himself by ye Duke of Buckingham, he saw no possibility but by his marrying his cousin ye Lady Eliz: Preston, whom he had never yet seen; nor by reason of her being so strictly guarded by ye Countess of Holland in prosecution of ye projected

Previously the "Adventurers" had complained that Lady Thurles was still in possession of 4000 acres, fallen to them in Barony of Eliogarty, county of Tipperary, whereupon the Council made the following order:—

"Upon consideration had of the within petition of John Gunn, agent for the adventurers in the Barony of Eliogarty, in the county of Tipperary, setting forth that, upon Admeasurement of lands for the adventurers in the Barony, he finds that the town and lands of Thurles (amounting to about 4000 acres), are possessed by the Lady Thurles (a Popish Recusant, and Transplantable), by virtue of an order from this Board only until further order, or until her qualification be determined; and therefore praying the direction of this Board, whether the said lands of Thurles shall be sett out to the Adventurers or passed by, &c.

"The Council do think fitt, and here-

by order, that forasmuch as this matter is cognizable before the Commissioners at Athlone, it be referred unto the said Commissioners of the Court of Qualifications and Claims at Athlone, to consider of the within Allegations, and annexed order, and to proceed in the case according to Rule of Court.

"*Dublin Castle, 14 May, 1656.*"

¹ There is extant at Kilkenny Castle, a sharply written letter addressed by Archbishop Abbot to Walter, Earl of Ormonde, desiring him to send back his grandson to Lambeth Palace, on pain of a complaint to the King, whose ward the lad was. Carte, however, says that Lord Thurles's education was neglected by Abbot, who considered himself burdened by the charge—only £40 per annum being allowed for the young Lord's maintenance.—"Life of James, Duke of Ormonde," vol. i., p. 5.

² She died in Wales, 10th October, 1628. Archdall's "Lodge," vol. iv., p. 37.

match between her and ye now Earl of Desmond, could ye E. of Ormond imagine any way possible for him to obtain such an interview between him and his cousin ye Lady Eliz: Preston as might give him an opportunity of conversing or corresponding wth her. Whilst he was under these difficulties & discouragem^{nts} & tormented with ye apprehensions y^t delay w^d ruin his hopes & expectations by those opportunities & advantages w^{ch} his co-rival ye Earl of Desmond had to accomplish his aims, it fell out very happily, that Mr. Patrick Wemyss,¹ a near kinsman of Lady Eliz. Preston, & one who was chiefly entrusted wth ye management of her estate in Ireland, arrived at London: w^{ch} ye Earl of Ormond understanding, he soon found means to be acquainted with him, and so far insinuated himself into his friendship as to prevail on him to be an instrum^t of endeavouring an happy Union between him & his cousin ye Lady Elizabeth.

The first step Mr. Wemis made towards this was to give his Lordship an opportunity for a view² of ye Lady at Church next Sunday in ye City of London (w^{ch} was a good Omen) without ye privacy of ye Lady, & whether designedly or by good fortune his Lords^{hp} had ye satisfaction of sitting wth her Ladyship in ye same seat. The next step after this interview his Lords^{hp} made himself, by going in disguise (as a Romantic Lover) unto Kensington wth a pedlars pack upon his back, where 1st. encountering ye young Ladys (daughters to ye Earl of Holland), his Lord^{shp} so charmed them with his civil deport^{mt}, yt they run into ye House to ye Lady Eliz: & told her there was at ye back-door one of the handsomest Pedlars they had ever seen, and represented him so advantageously to her that

¹ This Scottish gentleman was afterwards secretary to Earl James, at the beginning of the great rebellion. Some despatches, written by him, signed by the Earl, and printed in Carte, have many Scotticisms. He was knighted, and having received from Ormonde a grant of the ancient Castle and Manor of Dunfert (now called Danesfort), in the county of Kilkenny, was the direct ancestor of Otway Wemyss, of Danesfort, Esq., now a captain in Her Majesty's 3rd regiment of foot.

² Carte says (vol. i., p. 7), that, "about six months after the death of the Duke of Buckingham, he" (Lord Thurles) "first saw at Court his kinswoman the lady *Elizabeth Preston*." She was born on the 25th of July, 1615, and Carte computes that Lord Thurles was five years her senior; if so, she was scarce fourteen years old at the time of this courtship, and her suitor was but

nineteen. However, if, agreeably with the inquisition quoted by Carte, his lordship was born in 1607 (vol. i., p. 3), he was twenty-two years of age. Carte does not give the above anecdote, which is circumstantial; but mentions that Lady Isabella Rich, daughter of the Earl of Holland, and with whom Lady Elizabeth Preston was brought up, favoured "the correspondence" between the Irish nobleman and this young lady; that since, after the king's admonition to him "not to meddle with" the royal ward, no intercourse could be carried on between them but in the way of intrigue, Lady Isabella Rich "exposed herself to all the dangers to which such private meetings, opportunity, and late and unguarded hours, expose youth;" and that, in consequence, "she found the young nobleman too agreeable," and bore him a son, who was subsequently sent to Paris, and educated there.—See Carte, vol. ii., p. 555.

they obliged her to come and take a view of him and ye wares in his pack. It is not improbable that notwithstanding the Earl's disguise ye young Lady had some impression & idea of ye person who had sat wth her in ye seat ye Sunday before, for upon his opening his packe, he presented to her a pair of gloves, into one of which he before conveyed a letter, w^{ch} she in his drawing on ye glove perceiving, pretended to have no money in her pocket to pay for ye gloves, & notwithstanding ye young Ladys offered to lend her money, yet she retired to her chamber to fetch money, & being there, perused ye letter, & soon after returned with ye gloves again (into w^{ch} she as cunningly conveyed an answer), w^{ch} she returned to ye amorous Pedlar, pretending they had an ill smell. What were ye contents of either of these letters can be no otherwise possibly guessed at (because they were so secretly contrived, as all amorous intrigues are) than by the success, for within a small space after, the young couple liked one another so well, notwithstanding ye circumspection, & strict guards of ye Countess of Holland, they were happily marry'd,¹ to the great surprise and displeasure of ye Court, ye Duke of Buckingham, and ye Earl of Holland. But they, being both ye King's wards, & under age, the Earl of Ormond, as an atonem^t & peace offering, was necessitated to enter into bonds to pay ye Earl of Holland 30,000 £., w^{ch}, for several years before it was paid, lay as an heavy load upon ye Earl of Orm^d. And yet, notwithstanding, ye Earl & his Lady had no favour or countenance shewed them at court. Some time after ye Duke of Buckingham being declared General of his Majesties Forces w^{ch} were designed for ye invasion of ye Isle of Ree in order to ye releefe of Rochelle, w^{ch} was then besieged & hardly pressed by ye French King, Lewis ye 13th, his Grace went to Portsmouth to hasten his preparations for his expedition. The Earl of Orm^d being of a brisk and active spirit, and observing that most of ye young noblemen attended ye Duke as Volunteers in y^e expedition, being instigated by their example resolved to give his Majestie as early a proof of his zeal to his service as others did, & notwithstanding ye severe proofs he felt of ye Dukes animosity to his family, wth an unparall'ed generosity designed to accompany his Grace & signalize himself in ye expedition.² As soon as he arrived at Portsmt he immediately went to the Dukes lodgings where he found him environed wth several young noblemen, & ye

¹ Carte implies that the marriage was by royal consent, and states that the wedding took place in London, at Christmas, 1629. Also (vol. i., p. 8), that Lord Holland's consent was gained by a bond for £15,000. This large sum the Earl paid in 1637, during the vicereignty of Lord Strafford, "whose friendship contributed to discharge it."

² This incident must be placed at an earlier date, as the Duke of Buckingham was murdered at Portsmouth before the marriage between the lovers took place. Carte, who mentions this fact (vol. i. p. 6), gives a different version of what passed on the occasion of the Earl having offered to join the expedition to the Isle of Rhé.

officers of ye army ; & as he entered into his presence, the Duke approaching him, saluted him with great civility, and asked him what occasioned his L^dsh^{ps} coming then to Portsmouth. His Lordship told his Grace, in ye first place to pay his duty to his Grace, and in ye next to wait upon him in his expedition unto France. The Duke replied, “ Good God, is it possible that your Lordship can so easily forgive the injury’s I have done your family & yourself, as not only to honour me with your company here, but also to hasard y^r life with me in France.” My Lord answer’d “ that as he was ignorant of the cause of his Grace’s animosity to his Family, so he was innocent of it, and took this opportunity to convince his Grace of it, and to give him a real proof of his service to him.” The Duke embrac’d him & told him he never should outdo him in generosity, and since his L^dship had made so obliging a step towards a friendship, he was resolv’d to clinch ye nail, & if he were so happy as to return alive from that expedition, he would make his Lordship full amends for past injuries, & be his faithful servant as long as he lived. But Providence had so ordered it that ye very ev^g. after, His Grace was murdered by Felton, by which an end was put as well to his Graces life and generous resolutions, as to his Lords^{hps} hopeful expectations ; for his Lord^p. returning ye next day to London, & after finding no countenance from ye King, nor prospect of favor from ye ministers of state who succeeded in power at court, his Lordship was convinced there was no other means left for him to retrieve his fortune than by repairing to Ireland, & by good husbandry and careful management of his Estate, to free himself from ye great incumbrance he had contracted for his own and Ladys wardship ; and to ease himself of some other debts his Grandfather had incurred during ye suits of ye E. of Desm^d. & his imprisonment in ye F^lleet. And in pursuance of this prudent resolution, his L^dship soon after having [*sic*] transported himself and his Family into Ireland, where he lived upon his own Estate, unconcerned in all possible [public] affairs till ye arrival of ye Earl of Strafford brought him first to Dublin to pay his respects to the chief Governor, who, upon conversation with him, finding his youth accomplished wth great vivacity, and excellent good parts, took so great a liking to him,¹ that he first prevailed for

¹ Carte (vol. i. pp. 64, 65,) relates at large the origin of this friendship, which does much credit to the independent spirit of the Earl of Ormonde. It appears that Strafford, to curb the turbulence of some members of the Irish Parliament, issued a proclamation that none of the members of either house should enter wearing their swords. The Usher of the Black Rod having demanded Lord Ormonde’s in a rough way, “ the Earl

told him that *if he had his sword, it should be in his guts*, and so marched on into his seat, and was the only Peer who sat with a sword that day in the House.” When questioned before the Council for this act of disobedience, Ormonde produced the King’s writ, whereby he was to come to Parliament *cum gladio cinctus*, and so escaped censure. But, though thus foiled for the time, Strafford would have had little compunction in crushing

his being sworn of ye Privy Council, & after procured him leave to levy a Troop of Horse in ye Stand^s. Army for 1500. Upon this happy beginning & foundation of ye E. of Straffords favour towards his Lord^p by his own Industry and noble deport^{mt} by degrees built up his future greatness. In ye mean time he was not ungrateful to his first benefactor, who having ye misfortune in ye year 1640 to be impeached at ye same time in ye Parliaments of England & Ir^d., & being brought upon his Tryal in England, wrote to my Lord Ormond, wherein he told him it would be of great advantage to him in his tryal, if the articles of Impeach^{mt}. that were preparing against him in ye Parliament in Ireland were for some time delayed, & desired his Lordship, upon whose friendship he could safely depend in y^t Kingdom, to use all possible endeavours to obstruct them, there being a confederacy between both Parliaments to ruin ye Earl of Strafford, because he was ye sole man who stood in ye Gapp in opposition to those mischievous designs that then were on foot against ye Crown, w^{ch} ye factions in both Kingdoms could not well bring about till ye said Earl of Strafford was taken out of the way. Ye Earl of Ormond perceiving y^t if he directly opposed ye Articles, ye violent torrent against ye Earl would be too great for him to stem upon his own single interest, & he finding that among the Earl of Strafford's enemies in ye House of Lords no man was more fierce against him than Doctor Anthony Martin, Bp. of Meath, who, being a man of excellent parts, a good orator, and one who had received no small disobligations from ye said E. during his Government, in all his speeches reflected upon him wth most acrimony, him therefore My Lord of Ormond on purpose fell foul upon wth severe expressions, w^{ch} ye Bp. in his choler resenting, complained to ye House for breach of Priviledge & breach of orders of ye House & appealed to their Lord^{ps} for reparation, this begat a great debate, & heat in the house, w^{ch} spent ye rest of ye day without any proceedings upon ye Articles. My Lord of Ormond finding his success in his Artifice (for otherwise he had a very great esteem for y^t Reverend Prelate) pursued ye same practice for six days together, and by that means kept off ye Articles, w^{ch} was ye only mark he aimed at. Then Donagh Visc^t Muskerry his brother-in-law, & one who by his interest amongst ye Catholick Peers (wth whom he was firmly united against the Earl of Strafford) came to ye Earl of Orm^d to his house & told him y^t he had smelt him out, and was convinced y^t his carping for six days together against ye Bp. of Meath was not out of any real

one who so openly set at nought his authority, had not the necessity of making friends amongst the Irish nobility to support him in his high-handed policy of "thorough," led him to consider the alternative of winning to his side so daring

a spirit: this, by the advice of Sir George Radcliffe, he determined to try, and soon made a fast friend of the young Earl of Ormonde. Carte says that Ormonde was but twenty-four years of age when sworn of the Privy Council.

picque he had to ye said Bp., but out of design to keep ye House in heats to delay by y^t means ye Impeach^{mt} ag^t ye E. of Strafford, & therefore in plain dealing told him he must no longer depend upon his friendship to be dissuaded from being call'd to ye bar & sent to Castle Chambers (w^{ch} was in Dublin ye Prison for ye Peers as ye Tower is in London) if he any longer persisted in his indecent usuage of ye Bp. of Meath. So my Lord of Orm^d was necessitated to give way to the proceeding upon ye Impeachment w^{ch} soon after and without hesitation pass'd in ye House, & by a committee of Lords & commons was sent into England.

In October 1647 The Marquiss of Ormond waiting upon ye King who was then a prisoner at Hampton Court, His Majestie told him y^t he was certainly informed, y^t ye Parliament & ye Army, notwithstanding their several treaties wth him for a peace, had resolv'd amongst themselves to bring him to a publick tryal for his life; and w^d cut him off, if by an invasion from Scotland, & a diversion to be attempted by ye Marquiss in Ireland, it was not prevented. And therefore as to the first his Ma^{tie} commanded him to meet and confer wth ye Earl of Loudon, Chancellor of Scotland, & ye Earl of Lauderdale (both then commissioners from Scotland to ye Parliament); and after he had adjusted matters wth y^m. then immediately to repair to his son Prince Charles into France, & receive directions from him concerning his repair [*sic*], held pursuant to a Treaty yⁿ. on foot wth ye Irish & ye L^d Insiquin. In order to this ye Marquiss returned to London, where he was no sooner arrived but he found an ordinance of both Houses published, that all Cavaliers & Malignants should withdraw themselves ye next day out of ye city, & not reside nearer than within 20 miles of it. This was a great surprise upon ye Marquiss, for by it he thought himself deprived of all possible means of executing his Majestie's commands in ye designed conference wth ye Earls of Loudon & Lauderdale for ye preservation of his Maj^{ties} person, & therefore immediately went to General Fairfax, who then had his head Quarters at Putney, hoping if his articles wth ye Parliament upon ye surrender of Dublin did not exempt him, that at least, wth his Lordships mediation with ye Parliam^t. he might at least have some few days allowed him from ye common case of Cavaliers. But ye L^d. General tho till then extreemly civil & obliging to him, told him plainly that he durst not undertake to mediate with ye Parliam^t for him, & he had as ill success in his addresses that ev^g to some of his old acquaintance amongst ye House of Lords, who were so far from interposing for him, that they advised him ye next day to be gone out of Town, least a lodging might be provided for him in ye Tower. In this streight he sent his Secretary Sir George Lane to ye Earls of Loudon & Lauderdale, to acquaint their Lord^{ps} with ye commands he had from his Majestie to confer with their Lordships about his affairs, w^{ch} it was impossi-

ble for him to do in his present circumstances, having no choise left him but either in going out of town ye next morning, pursuant to ye directions in ye ordinance of Parliamt^t y^t day published, or to run ye risque of being sent prisoner to ye Tower; that his Lordship had determined to go to my Lord Pagets house, near Marlow, beyond Henlye, where he would stay till he heard from their Lord^{ps} who he hoped would contrive some way for their speedy and private conferring wth him about his Maj^{tie}'s affair w^{ch} required dispatch. Their Lord^{ps} returned answer that within a few days they would repair to Henlye, from whence they would advertise his Lord^p of ye time & place for meeting them.

The next day my L^d of Ormon^d. wth ye Countess of Holland, & in her coach, went out of town towards my Lord Pagett's house, & as they approached Henlye House they had notice of several country people who had been robb'd in their return home from Henlye Market, & that there were within less than a $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile of them ten Highwaymen who had robb'd all upon ye road that had pass'd that afternoon. His Lord^p. was a little alarm'd at this, but more ye Countess of Holland, who had that morning before she took coach delivered to his Lord^p for her better security her box of Jewels amount^g. to ye value of 2500£. to protect w^{ch} and ye person of ye Lady, his Lordship thought he should be better able to do it on Horseback, so he called for his horse which was led by his groom, w^{ch} he no sooner mounted than he descry'd ye Highwaymen who were drawn up ready to receive him, & those few serv^{ts}. which attended him, in number not exceeding five, & having no better arms than their swords, w^{ch} they drew, (fire arms being prohibited to all Cavaliers). As they approach'd near ye Highwaymen, by whom his Lord^p expected to be attacked, they cry'd out "God bless y^r Lordship, My L^d of Ormond, we have nothing to say to your Lordship, for you are as poor as we are." So his L^dship passed freely on to Marlow without any disturbance from them who w^d not have treated ye Countess of Holland with such civility, had not her Ladyship had ye good fortune to be under his Lord^{ps}. protection. After 3 days spent in Jollity with my Ld. Pagett, his Lordship in ye even^g. rec^d a letter from ye Scotch L^{ds} y^t they were at Henlye, and they desired his Lord^p to meet them in a little Coppice wood between Marlow and Henlye ye next morning at 8 of ye clock; whereupon my Lord gave orders to his groom to have his pad ready saddled at 7 o' ye Clock next morning, & there happening to be present one S^r Henry Leigh, a good fellow and a pleasant companion of my Lord Pagetts, when my Lord Marquiss was ready to take horse, S^r Henry swore he would accompany him, tho' he had heard My Lord command his servant that none of y^m should go wth him. My Lord having no mind to be incumbred wth so impertinent a companion, called him aside to him, & whispered him in ye ear, that he would

do him a great kindness to go along with him, for he was engaged to fight a duel, and he wanted a second, S^r Henry immediately started, and said he begged his Lord^{ps} pardon, for he had a great honor for his Lordship, yet he did not love to have Ilett Holes made in his body so cold and frosty a morning, by which ingenious railery his Lord^p was rid of y^t troublesome spy, & wth freedom met ye two Lords in ye Coppice, who came without any attendance, where they agreed as ye only mean for his Maj^{ties} preservation, y^t Duke Hamilton should march out of Scotland into England wth an Army of 30,000 Scotch, & y^t my Lord Marquiss should hasten into Ireland to joyn ye Irish & ye Loyal English & by y^t means give a diversion to ye Parliam^t forces, who, being attacked in both Kingdoms, might be under some awe in their proceedings against ye Kings person. And according to this resolution, My Lord Marquiss two days after went from Marlow into Sussex, where he got an opportunity of a safe conveyance into France, where he was graciously received by ye Prince, by whom, wth ye Irish Commissioners then at court, his Lord^p was with ye Commission of Lord Lieut^t dispatched in Irel^d. And tho his Lord^p concluded ye Peace of 48 then wth ye Irish, & prevailed wth my Lord Insiquin to join wth him wth all his Forces, and notwithstanding pursuant to conclusions & agree^{mt} in Marlow Coppice, Duke Hamilton invaded England wth a brave Army; yet ye Fatality of King Charles ye 1st was so deplorable, & ye Vengeance of God so severe upon ye three kingdoms, that this brave army being ill conducted, was ruined & destroyed without fighting, & by that means that Sacred Head was soon after brought to ye Block, Barbarously & Unhappily Chopt off to make room for a bloody & Villanous Usurper.¹

¹ I have to thank H. F. Hore, Esq., for aid in annotating this paper.